20¢ JUNE 19, 1950

# New Republic

## REMINGTON AND LEE: NEW LOYALTY PURGE

By HELEN FULLER

## JIM CROW IN HANDCUFFS:
### THREE SUPREME COURT RULINGS

## F. O. MATTHIESSEN,
### TEACHER AND SCHOLAR

By GEORGE MAYBERRY

## HAROLD L. ICKES: ORCHIDS TO SENATOR SMITH

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# Michael Straight liberal but not starry-eyed

**"IT WAS RIGHT NICE of Michael Straight, the sincere and brilliant young editor of the *New Republic*, to visit us on his tour of the back country.**

**"Straight is a liberal but no starry-eyed liberal. He comes from a family of Morgan partners and knows what money is. He also knows there is an honest way to get it and another way and it is a lot of satisfaction to us to feel that he wants America and her people to prosper the honest way.**

**"Some of the country's reactionaries look upon the *New Republic* with some misgivings, and of course the brothers at the far left regard it with unconcealed contempt. That puts it in a pretty good category in our book. It represents the type of liberalism that is healthy whether people go along with it or not. We hope young Mr. Straight and the people he meets come to like each other."**

¶ Michael Straight, Editor of the *New Republic*, returned recently from a coast-to-coast speaking tour. He visited a score of major cities in a dozen states.

¶ In all cities Michael Straight's speeches and radio appearances were well reported. Among the many clippings, the one we like specially—an editorial from the Los Angeles *News*—is reprinted above.

¶ The meetings arranged for him were well attended. In some instances readers of the *New Republic* made long journeys from outlying localities to meet and talk with him. To his question, "What changes ought we make to improve the *New Republic*?" virtually all replied, "No changes—it is better than it has ever been."

¶ One way of meeting Mr. Straight is to subscribe to the *New Republic*. You will like him—if you are not a reactionary or an extreme leftist. You will like the magazine he edits. In it you will find sane, shrewd comment, you will find accurate, informed reporting, and the steady development of new ideas and fresh proposals as the events of the world move forward.

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**If you are not a regular reader, subscribe; if a subscriber, renew; give the *New Republic* to your friends.**

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New Republic

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EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler
FOREIGN AFFAIRS EDITOR: Percy Winner
WASHINGTON BUREAU: Helen Fuller (Political Editor), Jean Begeman
DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)
COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

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## WASHINGTON WIRE

AMERICA IS FAMOUS for streamlined packaging, whether it's toothpaste, or synthetic whipped cream that squirts out of the can under its own pressure, and there's every reason to believe that A-bombs have been better packaged, too. That's the implication of recent Defense Department statements and official leaks in what seems to be a quiet campaign to reassure Western Europe. Only part of it applies to atomic weapons; for the time being almost as important is the Department's decision to lift secrecy a little about anti-tank weapons. In brief, there's good reason to believe tank warfare is obsolete (for the time being) and that defensive weapons like proximity fuses, recoilless rifles, "homing" rockets (which seek out their targets) are in the ascendant.

As for A-bombs, published statements have indicated that the uranium explosive weighed only about 30 pounds or so and was wrapped in a 10,000-pound package. The latter supplied the detonating mechanism and shielded the carrier from radioactive poisoning. That's where packaging comes in. Last week, Army Chief of Staff Joseph Collins said in guarded terms that baby A-bombs and artillery that fires fissionable material are "by no means impossible," and Secretary of the Army Frank Pace said about the same thing two days later. Back on March 31, Defense Secretary Louis Johnson in his semi-annual report to Truman announced enigmatically that "atomic weapons are no longer a small number of bombs of a single type and size to be used only strategically on a carefully selected target." And the conservative and well-informed Associated Press now states categorically that the US possesses "small" atomic bombs and atomic warheads for artillery.

Well, we have only one cheerful little fact to add. The critical mass at which the fissionable stuff goes off is fixed and immutable. You have to have so much of it to make it explode—say around 30 pounds. The smallest explosion you can get is the equivalent of about 15,000 tons of TNT. Making the A-bomb into a midget doesn't reduce the size of this blast or the radioactive effects from it. It makes it easier to deliver, that's all.

**The biggest** tax loophole Truman asked Congress to plug last January was the so-called "depletion allowance." Of them all, he called it "most inequitable": taxes lost annually run to $400 million. This allowance was started in 1918 to encourage oil production. It gives the producer of mineral products an income-tax rebate to compensate him for the depletion of whatever it is he's mining. Some of the oil-rich Oklahoma millionaires pay low income taxes. Now this is inequitable and outrageous. Truman said so, as did Snyder. The result? The House Ways and Means Committee has increased, not diminished, the depletion-allowance coverage: in the proposed new tax bill the range will be greater than ever.

**It's going** to be hard to yield to Moscow, but the absurdity of pretending that Formosa represents the vast masses of China in the United Nations is so evident that sooner or later the Communist regime must be recognized. This is no excuse, of course, for the Russian boycott; it is part of the hateful tactics that the Soviet customarily employs. That doesn't alter the fact that the Chinese Red regime ought to be in the UN. There's more than a suspicion that the State Department agrees. It will enter no veto to admission. More and more it looks as though Formosa itself would collapse: Mme. Chiang's brother, millionaire T. V. Soong, declines to return there; he prefers New York.

**Two Hollywood writers** were handcuffed together and sent to jail last week because they wouldn't answer "Yes" or "No" to the question put by the House Un-American Activities Committee: "Are you a Communist?" We suspect they are Communists and

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believe the legislative power of inquiry should be upheld—though we may be wrong. Certainly the event is a challenge impossible to laugh off. At the same time last week we attended a session of the House lobby-investigating committee where several leaders of the crackpot conservative groups, including Dr. Rumely of the precious Committee for Constitutional Government, refused to divulge names of contributors demanded by Chairman Buchanan (D, Pa.). Will they be cited for contempt? Will Dr. Rumely go back to jail again, where he served a sentence in World War I on charges of buying and operating the old New York *Mail* for German owners? We doubt it. Dr. Rumely and others were defended at every step by the GOP minority on the committee.

The Rumely outfit has found its bible in John T. Flynn's *The Road Ahead*, which argues that New Deal social legislation is really worse than Communism. Incidentally, one of the few retractions we have ever seen in the *Reader's Digest* was printed so inconspicuously in the May issue that we almost missed it. The *Digest* condensed and republished the Flynn book, you remember, as its leading article a year ago, preceded by blurbs from the Hearst-McCormick press. One blurb looked like a phony, and this column exposed it: the New York *Times's* Karl Schriftgiesser was quoted as calling Flynn's one of the two "most important books about the contemporary scene that we will have this year." Conveniently omitted was the subsequent explanation of their "importance"—because "they are the latest and most extreme manifestation of an endemic hysteria presently affecting a considerable segment of society" (including, of course, the *Reader's Digest*). Now the latter explains: just a trifling mistake.

**Notes.** McCarthy has moved from page 1 to page 5 in New York papers. . . . Senate absenteeism threatens Democratic demoralization. . . . The Russell "optional-segregation" amendment may kill the Draft Act, which expires June 24. . . . The Supreme Court raised a low batting average by its three Jim Crow decisions and the tidelands-oil case the last day of its term.

*Washington* T. R. B.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### What About Czechoslovakia?

SIR: It is surprising that an article as distorted and false as "The Terror in Czechoslovakia," by Hugo Skala (the *NR*, April 17), could find its way into the *New Republic*. I have followed events in Czechoslovakia closely and have made extensive studies there on several visits during the last few years. It is not possible to refute all of Mr. Skala's misstatements; a few examples must suffice:

1. Czechoslovakia is not "economically prostrate" nor is its "present situation about as gloomy as could be imagined." Even superficial observers have emphasized the surprising improvement in economic conditions since the catastrophic drought in 1947 which had serious repercussions upon all parts of the economy. The New York *Times* of February 12, 1950, reported from Prague that the improvement of the internal economic situation is recognized "even by those who are politically most hostile to the Communist regime." Food has become more abundant; rationing of bread, flour, flour products, potatoes and other commodities has been ended; still existing rations have been increased; prices have sharply declined in the relatively expensive "free" markets in which everyone may purchase unlimited quantities of a great variety of goods. Stores are now filled with every kind of commodity for daily necessities—food, textiles, utensils, furniture, etc.—as well as with the products of proverbial Czechoslovakian skill. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe states that the income per head of the Czechoslovakian population in 1948 was 10 percent higher than before the war, and the standard of living has increased since, particularly when the many improved social services, enjoyed by the entire population, are taken into account. . . .

2. Mr. Skala asserts that Czechoslovakia's "once flourishing foreign trade has almost disappeared." There are, he says, great stocks of unsalable goods, "too bad to be sent abroad." What are the facts? Foreign trade, negligible in the first postwar year, has been rebuilt. In 1949, imports exceeded the prewar level by 7.4 percent, while exports reached 85.5 percent of the 1937 volume. Exports exceeded imports for the first time in three years. The total turnover in foreign trade amounted in 1949 to $1.6 billion, compared to $18.6 billion in this country. This means that *foreign trade in Czechoslovakia in 1949 per head of the population was slightly higher than in the United States.* Mr. Skala implies that international trade was almost completely directed to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Actually 55 percent was carried on with the rest of the world. Would Western nations have bought such large quantities if Czechoslovakian products were as "inferior" as Mr. Skala claims?

Many other statements in Mr. Skala's article do not stand up any better when confronted with the true facts. There cannot be any doubt that a man whom you introduce to your readers as "the former chief of the Economic Section of the Czechoslovakia Ministry of Finance" was fully aware of the character of his allegations. He knew that Czechoslovakia could not have expelled "2.5 million highly skilled workers," since altogether there were less than two million industrial workers of all nationalities before the war. He also knew how absurd and nonsensical it is to raise the question as to whether it is "Russian policy to destroy the Czech economy in toto" in order to make the country subservient to the Soviet Union.

It is my considered judgment that Mr. Skala's article is tendentious and misleading. In the tense atmosphere of the cold war . . . it behooves us to double-check sources of information—particularly on controversial matters and explosive political issues. Does Mr. Skala possess the necessary qualifications? He came to the United States on an official mission as a trusted delegate of his government. Very shortly after his arrival he abandoned his position, betrayed the confidence which his country had placed in him, and now attacks it with false information and provocative propaganda.

*New York University, New York City* OTTO NATHAN

SIR: I understand that Professor Nathan came to this country as a refugee from Nazi oppression. If this is true, I wonder whether he then trusted Hitler's statistical figures more than his own knowledge of his native country? When, in America, he attacked the usurpers in Germany, as I am attacking those who seized control of my unhappy homeland, did he feel that he had betrayed his country?

I should be glad to give all the facts on which my article was based, but space forbids. There is only one misstatement of fact in my article, which occurred in the handling of the manuscript in the *NR* office. I wrote: "The Czechs . . . expelled 2.5 million of the Sudeten Germans, including many highly skilled workers." . . .

As for the other points made by Dr. Nathan:

The quotation from the New York *Times* is from an article by Cyrus Sulzberger, one of a series of five. When he was criticized for some passages in one of them, including the sentence quoted by Dr. Nathan, he wrote to the *Times* that the five articles should be taken together and that it is misleading to quote sentences from a single one. The other four articles were much less favorable.

*(Continued on page 23)*

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VOLUME 122, NUMBER 25, ISSUE 1855, NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 19, 1950 **New Republic**

# JIM CROW IN HANDCUFFS

JUNE 5, 1950, should be celebrated from now on as a banner day in the history of American democracy. On that day, segregation, the greatest social injustice in America, was condemned by the Supreme Court.

The Court established no new doctrine in the cases of Henderson, Sweatt and McLaurin. It restored to law the doctrine that all men are equal in their rights, a doctrine formulated by the Abolitionists, fought for in the Civil War, written into the Constitution and upheld by the Court in succeeding generations only to be struck down at the century's end.

In 1896 the Court held that segregation was no denial of equal rights. If, said the Court, the act of segregation "seemed to stamp the colored race with the badge of inferiority," then "it is not by reason of anything found in the act but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it."

This sophistry was denounced by Justice Harlan: "Our Constitution is color blind," he declared, "and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens." He condemned as another Dred Scott decision the affirmation of the "separate and equal" doctrine with its "brand of servitude and degradation." He added: "The thin disguise of 'equal' accommodations . . . will not mislead anyone, or atone for the wrong this day done."

Segregation, once made law, was soon accepted. Once sanctioned, it established its own vested interests among white property owners, transportation companies, employers and skilled workers. It created similar vested interests among Negroes: officers in segregated National Guard battalions, politicians who delivered block votes, ministers who exploited racial solidarity, school teachers who feared loss of jobs in integrated schools.

Among reformers, discrimination became the great issue for 50 years. In appeals to the courts under the "separate and equal" doctrine, equality was the main reliance, separation was rarely mentioned, the doctrine itself was not questioned. As late as 1946 the Irene Morgan case was appealed solely on the ground that discrimination was a burden upon interstate commerce. Those who hated segregation silently hoped that if equality could be enforced, segregation would fall of its own economic weight in the South.

Only in 1947 did the President's Committee on Civil Rights crash through the inertia of 50 years. The heart of its report was the single sentence:

> Segregation has become the cornerstone of the elaborate structure of discrimination against some American citizens.

The committee added:

> The "separate and equal" doctrine stands convicted on three grounds. It contravenes the equalitarian spirit of the American heritage. It has failed to operate, for history shows that inequality of service has been the omnipresent consequence of separation. It has institutionalized segregation and kept groups apart despite indisputable evidence that normal contacts among these groups tend to promote social harmony.

This committee's report was read by millions of Americans. At once, new test cases were prepared and new briefs written. The heightened awareness created by the President's Committee made it possible for the Court at last, in 1950, to turn toward truths rejected 54 years ago.

**The Court** has not outlawed segregation. It refused to reaffirm or reëxamine the constitutionality of the "separate and equal" doctrine. Yet the Court has overruled the doctrine in graduate education and interstate transportation in terms that make segregation itself untenable in the long run.

In the Sweatt case the Court requires equal facilities in higher education and finds, in effect, that segregation and equality are incompatible. It recognizes that while the case was under review a law school was opened at the Texas State University for Negroes with substantial services. It adds that even if these services were equal to those of the University of Texas Law School, the Negro school would lack "those equalities of reputation . . . experience . . . influence . . . standing . . . traditions and prestige . . . which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." Even more significant, the Court declares that: "The law school cannot be effective in isolation from the individuals and institutions with which the law interacts." The Court adds:

> The law school to which Texas is willing to admit petitioner excludes from its student body members of the racial groups which number 85 percent of the population of the State and include most of the lawyers, witnesses, jurors, judges and other officials with whom petitioner will inevitably be dealing when he becomes a member of the Texas

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Bar. With such a substantial and significant segment of society excluded we cannot conclude that the education offered petitioner is substantially equal to that which he would receive if admitted to the University of Texas Law School.

This passage serves notice that segregated law schools, however lavish their facilities, must be inadequate. It undermines both state schools for Negroes and the regional universities by which Southern states hoped to provide separate and equal facilities. This same passage in the Sweatt decision is applicable to all graduate schools and bears directly on segregated primary and secondary schools, since it is impossible for them adequately to prepare the Negro for life in a predominantly white society.

**In the Sweatt case,** the Court advances beyond previous decisions in ordering a graduate school to admit a qualified Negro student. In the McLaurin decision the Court insists that Negro students, once they have been admitted to graduate schools, must be treated with complete equality.

As in the case of Heman Sweatt, the Jim Crow practices imposed on George McLaurin were drastically reduced by the University of Oklahoma while the case was under review. The Court might well have referred the case back for further review in the light of the changing treatment of McLaurin. Instead, it declared that the University set McLaurin apart from other students, impairing "his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students." It adds that in these circumstances "the Fourteenth Amendment precludes differences in treatment by the State based upon race." A Negro student, once admitted to a graduate school, "must receive the same treatment at the hands of the State as the students of other races."

Again the broad sweep of these phrases can be widely applied. The Henderson case, involving Jim Crow dining cars on interstate railroads, is decided by the Court on a narrow legal basis. Yet the Court, in attacking "curtains, partitions and signs" on trains which "emphasize the artificiality of a difference in treatment which serves only to call attention to a racial classification of passengers," refers back to the McLaurin decision and thereby undermines all Jim Crow practices on all railroads. A Negro passenger traveling alone may not suffer a denial of his rights, under present rulings, if he is placed in a segregated coach. But if he is otherwise separated from white companions, then the McLaurin decision applies. The difference is so artificial that it cannot survive another test case.

Tomorrow, and the day after, of course, Negroes will still be herded into segregated coaches on the trains out of Memphis and Jacksonville. But segregation as a way of life is clearly doomed, and reckless racists who continue to build segregated universities are inviting a taxpayers' revolt. Obviously, the trend of the Court is to outlaw rather than sanction segregation. Integration is the law, and Americans will accustom themselves to the law.

This generation's students are crusaders for full civil rights. Herman Barnett, Ada Sipuel and other Negro pioneers have testified to the warm welcome white students have given them. Heman Sweatt has already been acclaimed because of moving from the cellar to the lecture halls in Austin. The undergraduates of Texas and Oklahoma have voted overwhelmingly to admit Negro students to undergraduate activity.

The majority of the Southern states will accept the Court's decisions. A minority, led by Governor Talmadge, may attempt to resist. Resistance will lead to writs of mandamus, contempt-of-court proceedings, and punishment, not for Talmadge but for Georgia's educators. For their own protection the associations of university professors and administrators will have to stand firmly against the attempts of politicians to force them to defy the law.

The Court decisions, says the Atlanta *Constitution*, are an open invitation to the Ku Klux Klan. While Talmadge rants, the Klan may act. Formerly it shot Georgia Negroes who tried to vote. Now it may shoot Negroes who seek higher education. Under present civil-rights statutes, the federal government can intervene only where it can prove that state officials have failed to protect Georgia residents from violence. Too often the failure, though obvious, is impossible to prove, because witnesses are terrified into silence. More than ever, the strengthening of the civil-rights statutes and the expansion of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice are urgent needs.

**Beyond the** once restricted halls and lawns of universities a new challenge appears—the Southern town boasting a new brick building for its white school children, while, across the tracks, Negro children crowd into a dilapidated shack without heat or sanitation.

Judge Morris Soper, in a brilliant opinion, has shown that a separate and equal school system for Negroes is non-existent and impossible of achievement in the wealthy community of Arlington, Virginia. Judge Henry Edgerton, in his dissenting opinion in a District of Columbia Case which foreshadows future opinions of the Supreme Court, holds that segregation *is* discrimination in our secondary schools. The Supreme Court, by refusing to review the issue of segregation in the housing projects of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in New York, has warned that despite its historic decisions of June 5, it does not intend to advance beyond public opinion. Our task is to keep public opinion moving forward.

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# THE WEEK

## PRIMARY STRAWS

Neither Democrats nor Republicans yet claim to see any strong "trend" in this year's election. In the 173 Congressional districts where the primaries have already been held, voters have showed a marked preference for incumbents, regardless of party. Personalities have been the only real issue in most races. In the four state primaries held last week, California, as usual, was the exception.

The machine politicians in the Democratic Party joined with California oil and corporate interests to try to defeat the forthright Fair Dealer, Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, in her own primary. Their candidate, Manchester Boddy, the Los Angeles publisher, talked peace and moderate liberalism while allowing his supporters to conduct as dirty a smear campaign against Mrs. Douglas as the Administration customarily encounters at the hands of Republicans.

Mrs. Douglas never allowed the opposition to put her on the defensive. She attacked McCarthyism in almost every speech, but her main theme was always positive—water, land, power, jobs, peace—California's needs and how to meet them. Her two-to-one victory over Boddy indicates that with California Democrats, at least, honest and courageous liberalism wins votes.

Representative Richard Nixon (R), who led the investigation of Alger Hiss in the Un-American Activities Committee, made so strong a showing, however, that Mrs. Douglas is certain to have difficulty defeating him in the fall. At the latest count, Nixon had more than 900,000 votes on the Democratic and Republican tickets under California's system of cross-filing, compared to fewer than 800,000 for Mrs. Douglas. The 400,000 vote which went to Boddy last week will be the question mark in November. Mrs. Douglas' main advantage lies in the fact that the total Democratic registration in the state is one million greater than the Republican registration.

This factor is also taken as an encouragement by the supporters of James Roosevelt. But the extremely large margin by which Governor Earl Warren led Roosevelt on the combined ticket—more than half a million votes—seems to make the possibility of a Democratic victory for the governorship much less likely than for the Senate unless drastic changes occur. President Truman's plans to stump the state between now and November might make that difference.

**The memorable** denunciation of Louis Budenz by his fellow Catholic, Senator Dennis Chavez (D, N. M.), has led, by twisted circumstances, to the domination of a whole state's politics by oil and gas interests. Senator Chavez's brother, Judge David Chavez, a distinguished public servant in his own right, has lost the Democratic nomination for Governor of New Mexico to a candidate who bore the colors of the Catholic hierarchy and the companies which would have profited from passage of the notorious Kerr gas bill.

When Senator Chavez rose to attack former Communist Budenz for misusing his standing as a Catholic convert, he remarked that this country has "embarked upon a course which breeds hysteria and confusion—a course so dangerous that few dare to oppose the drift lest they be the next marked for destruction." When he finished, he had been so marked. Chavez, thinking that he was doing his Church a service by denouncing one who he felt was abusing the faith, was shocked when all elements of the Church rebuked him for having spoken out. Probably he did not consider the possible consequences of his action in relation to his brother's candidacy for Governor. As the campaign in New Mexico progressed, however, it became clear that disciplinary action was to be exerted against them both.

The week before election, Archbishop Byrne of Santa Fé declared that he concurred in the rebuke which the fathers of Fordham University had delivered to the Senator for his Budenz speech. Another Catholic spokesman called on the good people of New Mexico to refrain from stealing votes or tampering with ballot boxes, as, they were reminded, associates of Chavez had once been accused of doing.

Senator Chavez made another powerful enemy in the last session of Congress. Dennis Chavez was the only Senator from a Southwestern state to vote against the profit-grabbing Kerr bill. When he also voted to uphold the President's veto of that measure, his colleague, Senator Clinton P. Anderson, who sided with the oil companies, was quoted as saying that there would have to be a showdown between them for power in the state.

After the Kerr-bill fight was over, Representative John Miles, who had worked hard for the bill in the House, went back to Albuquerque to enter the race for Governor. He arrived in a private airplane owned by D. W. Murchison, the president of Delhi Oil, a subsidiary of the Southern Union Gas Company. Local papers carried photographs of Miles being greeted at the airport by the vice-president of Southern Union and the state geologist of New Mexico, who had also just returned from Washington, where he had been urging passage of the Kerr bill.

Senator Anderson went back to New Mexico to campaign for Miles, who, if elected, would have authority to award the state insurance business, for which Anderson's insurance firm now has the exclusive agency. Judge Chavez ran on a comprehensive Fair Deal platform, including progressive plans for tax reform, the regulation of public utilities and the development of New Mexico's vast natural resources. Miles concentrated on attacking the "dynasty" which he accused the Chavez family of trying to build. Non-partisan reporters estimate that in an election in which only 100,000 votes were cast, close to $300,000 was spent to give Miles the considerable margin by which he won.

Miles and Anderson are now the undisputed powers in New Mexico. With their backing, former Representative John Dempsey, a member of the original Dies Committee with a notably unprogressive voting record, was nomi-

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nated to succeed Miles as one of New Mexico's two Representatives-at-large. The obvious intention is to run Dempsey against Senator Chavez in 1952. Dennis Chavez is learning what it means to have powerful enemies.

**Senator** Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R, Iowa) has been renominated by a clear majority of the total of votes cast in Iowa's Democratic and Republican primaries. The strength he showed was largely the result of hard campaigning. Protest sentiment against the Senator's unprincipled attack on David E. Lilienthal last year and his current support of McCarthyism was far weaker than Democratic politicians had predicted it would be.

The Brannan Plan was the issue in the Democratic primary. Albert J. Loveland, who resigned as Undersecretary of Agriculture to make the race, championed the Administration's farm policy, and former Governor Nelson Kraschel represented the anti-Brannan, Farm Bureau Federation point of view. Loveland outdistanced Kraschel by only a few thousand votes; each received roughly one-third of the Democratic votes cast. Voting was light, even for an off-year. The weather on election day was good, and farmers, behind with work because of recent rains, stayed in the fields. Local experts doubt that a larger farm vote would have made much difference in the results of the Senatorial race, however, since both sides exerted a maximum effort. The week before the primary, county directors of the Agricultural Extension Service openly joined in a statewide Farm Bureau meeting to plan strategy against the Brannan forces. Other local officers of the Department of Agriculture beat the drums for Loveland.

Despite the comparatively poor showing made by the Democratic ticket, optimists at National Democratic Headquarters believe that Loveland can beat Hickenlooper in November. They base this seemingly extravagant hope on the fact that the Democratic showing in the 1948 primary was 25 percent worse than that made this year, but the Democratic nominee, Guy Gillette, won out in the general election. It is customary in Iowa for labor and other traditional Democrats to vote in the Republican primary for local offices and Congressional candidates and switch back to the Democratic ticket in November.

"Go upstairs and wash your hands."

## THE TIDELANDS DECISION

It was a black day for oilmen when the Supreme Court refused to give Texas and Louisiana rights to the tidelands. The Supreme Court reiterated its stand in the U. S. vs. California case in 1947 that leases on all offshore properties belong under federal control. The controversy, which has been raging for five years, now shifts from the Supreme Court to Congress, where oil interests are attempting to nullify the Court action through legislation.

With Justice Douglas reading both majority opinions, the Court split, 4 to 2, in the Texas case (Justices Reed and Minton dissenting) and decided the Louisiana case 6 to 0 (Justices Jackson and Clark took no part in either case).

Despite the California ruling, Texas and Louisiana have continued to grant oil leases to private companies for drilling in offshore areas that are estimated to contain from five to ten billion barrels of oil.

This Court decision flatly forbids such state administration of oil drilling. Louisiana claimed rights in the area beginning at the three-mile marginal belt, extending 24 miles seaward. Justice Douglas reasoned that "the marginal sea is a national, not a state concern. National interests, national responsibilities, national concerns are involved. The problems of commerce, national defense, relations with other powers, war or peace focus there. National rights must therefore be paramount in that area."

The case against Texas was based primarily on the fact that Texas entered the Union in 1845 by a Congressional resolution declaring she came in on an "equal footing" with the other states. Douglas reminded Texas that she is no longer a Republic. "We assume," Douglas said, "that as a Republic she had not only full sovereignty over the marginal sea but ownership of it, of the land underlying it, and of all the riches which it held. . . . When Texas came into the Union, she ceased to be an independent nation. She then became a sister State on an 'equal footing' with all the other States. That act concededly entailed a relinquishment of some of her sovereignty. In external affairs the United States became the sole and exclusive spokesman for the nation."

The Court majority brushed aside the argument that sovereignty of the sea can be complete and unimpaired no matter who owns the oil underlying it. Douglas warned that "once low-water mark is passed, the international domain is reached. Property rights must then be so subordinated to political rights as in substance to coalesce and unite in the national sovereign. Today the controversy is over oil. Tomorrow it may be over some other substance or mineral or perhaps the bed of the ocean itself. If the property, whatever it may be, lies seaward of low-water mark, its use, disposition, management, and control involve national interests and national responsibilities."

Attorney General Price Daniel of Texas and Attorney General Bolivar Kemp of Louisiana have both an-

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nounced they will seek a rehearing before the Court at the 1951 term next fall. Their real hope, however, lies in Congress. The House, which has twice passed the bill giving states control of the tidelands, is scheduled to act on the bill as soon as it is reported from the Rules Committee next week.

### RIGHTISTS UNDER ATTACK

The House Lobby Investigating Committee has opened an attack on three of the biggest propaganda outfits in the country: The Committee for Constitutional Government, the National Economic Council and the Constitutional Educational League. Well-known for neo-fascist activities, the three groups were subpoenaed last week to produce records showing their financial backers. Edward A. Rumely, executive secretary of the Committee for Constitutional Government, and Joseph P. Kamp, vice-chairman of the Constitutional Educational League, refused to produce the records, and face contempt-of-Congress proceedings. It is not the first time for either of them. Rumely was tried twice in the federal courts for declining to give Congressional committees similar information. Kamp was tried and convicted for such defiance and his conviction was recently upheld by the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court.

Rumely's organization is one of the heaviest-spending lobbies on record. During the 38 months that the Lobbying Act has been in operation, the Committee for Constitutional Government has spent $1,571,240—an average of more than $40,000 a month and about a half-million dollars a year. Since the Act requires that contributions over $500 must be listed, the committee has carefully solicited contributions under that sum so that names of financial donors would not be recorded. Rumely claims that most of the money comes from the sale of books and pamphlets. Buchanan has demanded the names and addresses of quantity purchasers of books which it publishes, including *The Constitution of the United States*, by Thomas James Norton; *The Road Ahead*, by John T. Flynn; *Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State*, by Melchior Palyi, and *Why the Taft-Hartley Law?* by Irving G. McCann.

Under subpoena, Merwin K. Hart, president of the National Economic Council, surrendered some of the information sought by the Congressional committee. He handed it personally to Chairman Buchanan, requesting that it be kept confidential because, he feared, it might fall into the hands of "enemies of American liberty." Kamp, like Rumely, refused to list financial contributors to his Constitutional Educational League, which is not registered under the Lobbying Act. Representative Carl Albert (D, Okla.), a member of the committee, said that the Rumely-Kamp "technique" of questioning the committee's constitutional right to review organization records was the same as that used by Communists and other alleged subversives who have appeared before Congressional committees. Representative Clarence Brown (R, Ohio) jumped to Rumely's defense, charging that the committee had no right to ask him for the list of subscribers to his publications. Representative Henderson Lanham (D, Ga.) promptly reminded Brown that during a previous committee session Brown asked just such information from the CIO in connection with distribution of pamphlets on housing legislation.

### CIVIL LIBERTY DEFINED

Six German students were brought recently to America to learn the meaning of civil liberty.

What better place than Washington, D. C.? The students were taken to the Capital, where they interviewed the guardians of civil liberty on the Loyalty Review Board.

A member of the Board explained to the students how the Board protected civil liberties by ridding the government of Reds and "pinkos," a new word to the Germans.

"What is a pinko?" the German students asked.

"A pinko," the Loyalty Board official replied, "is a man who is against segregation and who fights for civil liberties."

The German students were puzzled. They asked for more information. The official went on to praise the Board for its educational work in persuading Americans to think twice before joining any organizations.

"After all," the official argued, "why join organizations? The average American never need join more than the Boy Scouts, the Reserves and some lodge or veterans' organization."

"But Mrs. Roosevelt has written that Americans should not be intimidated from freely joining with one another," a student protested.

"To hell with Mrs. Roosevelt," cried the Loyalty Board official. "I don't give a damn what she says!"

"Thank you," said the Germans and went home with renewed faith in civil liberty in the United States.

## OUTSIDE AMERICA

**The French** will have to get out of Indo-China as the British got out of India and the Dutch out of Indonesia. In the middle of the twentieth century, the coolie-padrone kind of nineteenth-century European colonialism in Asia—of which the French rule in Saigon has been a particularly glaring example—is doomed. Eventually the French colonists will have to get all the way out, dropping the fiction of their grant of "independence within the French Union." Very soon they will have to start moving; and after the visit of Secretary Acheson and Philip Jessup to Paris, they know it.

Neither the British withdrawal from India nor the Dutch from Indonesia was quick or easy, painless or peaceful. Even so, any analogy with them of the inevitable retreat of French colonialism from Asia tends to oversimplify—hence falsify—the problem and the difficulties. Indo-China can't be divided between Bao Dai and Ho Chi-minh as was the British domain between India and Pakistan. Moreover, Indo-China isn't a group of islands in the Indian and Pacific Oceans but a land mass which, by the fact of a common frontier with Mao Tse-tung's Red China, has become the site of the West's last stand against the Soviet East's advance.

A shooting war is still going on in Indo-China but, unlike those which in one way or another also went on in the

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last stages of the Indian and Indonesian liberations, its implications make it the Spanish Civil War of World War III. The French provoked and started the war. They conducted themselves badly from every conceivable point of view—morally, politically and humanly. Their armed forces (including a large number of former Nazi soldiers) have been guilty of fiendish atrocities that more than match the worst committed by their opponents. The war has taken at least 15,000 lives on the French side, has cost more than a half-billion dollars a year and has been, with its proliferation of the worst kinds of intrigue and corruption, a bleeding of the moral and physical strength of European France.

Yet after three years of fighting the French are no nearer ending the war, let alone winning it. And it's a mistake to believe that military aid coming over the frontier from China is alone responsible. While it's true that material is being transported over the Tonkinese border and also from Thailand and Burma, the fact is that the French were fought to a standstill before the flow started. The fact also is that no amount of American help in money, arms and advice will turn the tide—that is, no amount of help to the French. Helping the Indo-Chinese is another matter.

**If there is** any point of agreement among the Indo-Chinese, who range from the most zealous Stalinist Communists to extreme reactionaries, it is hatred of the French. Granting that nationalism is natural in 1950 in a country like Indo-China, especially after the effects of the Japanese Co-Prosperity scheme and the successes of other Asiatic peoples against non-Asiatics, the intensity of the anti-French feeling is in large part the result of French misconduct.

Although Bao Dai is France's puppet emperor, he is by no means dependably pro-French. Recently his anti-French attitudes have been coming into the open, and his popularity and his potential strength as a national leader have been increasing in direct proportion to their emergence. He has a chance—perhaps not a good one, but a chance nevertheless—of winning a majority of the people to his side if he succeeds in breaking the ties with his masters in Paris and Saigon. There is even a chance that Ho Chi-minh might, under such circumstances, coöperate with him. Those who believe that Mao Tse-tung isn't a "real" Communist are convinced that Ho is still less of one. They see weakness rather than confidence in the speed with which Moscow recognized Ho after the "agreements" between Bao Dai and the French. The theory is that Bao Dai had irreparably hurt himself as a nationalist leader, and that it was necessary to take the remaining leader into the Soviet camp before the Americans could bid for him.

**The Americans** are now bidding for Bao Dai. He is a less good nationalist leader than Ho was, perhaps even than Ho is. Still, he can be a leader. And the Americans are bidding for him in the only effective way, as they should have for Ho three years ago: they are strengthening him against the French. It may be too late, but it's well worth trying.

Indo-China presents a challenge and an opportunity to American statesmanship. When Jessup said some months ago that Bao Dai was the leader of the whole Indo-Chinese people, he wasn't facing the facts. But when Jessup and Acheson stood up to the French at Paris in April and refused to yield to the plea that arms be sent to the French rather than the Indo-Chinese, they were helping make Bao Dai the leader of his people. A great deal more help needs to be given; and it may succeed to the extent that it appears to be anti-French rather than anti-Soviet.

Above all, if American statesmanship is to meet the challenge and take the opportunity, the help must not be blatantly pro-American in the narrow nationalistic American sense. Obviously, no big nation helps a small nation out of pure generosity, and the Indo-Chinese have learned about the cold war in a hard school. Nevertheless, America's reputation in Southeast Asia is not yet linked directly to imperialism (and it never was linked to the French brand of colonialism). The way *not* to save Indo-China from the Soviets is openly to subordinate the war of national liberation to the war against the Soviet Union, and to replace the corrupt Banque de l'Indochine economic exploitation with streamlined efficiency on behalf of Wall Street. Naked dollar imperialism will make Point Four the third strike for the West in Southeast Asia.

**It is in** European France, however, that the biggest problem of American statesmanship presents itself. A variant of an old French saying applies: With what sauce are the French to eat the crow of defeat and withdrawal, and who is to do the eating? Finding the recipe for the sauce is a major task of American policy, since any serious political and psychological indigestion may have very bad effects on France's role in the Atlantic community. French economic interests in Indo-China are still very great, and their ramifications affect the lives of many little people. A formula for French withdrawal would have to take those interests into account, do as well by French investments as the Indonesians did by the Dutch, the Indians by the English. Above all, the formula would have to avoid the reality and also the impression of a triumph of Wall Street over the French capitalists.

The domestic political effects of a withdrawal might, if not handled with great tact, be far worse—that is, worse from the standpoint of those who haven't yet been won over to the view that Charles de Gaulle is the savior of France. Unless America's role in Indo-China's nationalist liberation is put in just perspective, the General will scream "Betrayal of France!" even more loudly than the Communists; and more Frenchmen may listen to him. If the Socialists approve the detachment of Indo-China from the French Union, they will be accused of having knuckled under to the Americans; if they don't, their bargaining power against the parties of the Right—the "defenders of the Empire"—will be lessened.

What is needed is concrete proof that the Americans will not make themselves the heirs of the French in Asia; that the French will be assured as good a status in Asia as any other European (or American) people; that the French will be treated as equals with the Americans in the Atlantic community; and that such equality will not be of live American dollars and dead French soldiers.

PERCY WINNER

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# THE FUTURE OF THE LABOUR PARTY

**by Norman MacKenzie**

IN THE three months between the General Election and the Whitsun vacation, the British nation has learned to live with the deadlock between Labour and the Tories in a way that has surprised the commentators who predicted that last February's photo-finish would make stable government impossible. Labour has framed and passed its Budget; it has scraped home in every critical division; and the record of bye-election successes has been maintained unbroken. Certainly, for members of both parties, it has been a wearing process, demanding constant attendance at the House lest a snap division be called. But it is now becoming so much of a routine that public attention has been diverted, in the last few weeks, to events outside the House of Commons—to the Foreign Ministers' Conference, with Robert Schuman's dramatic proposal, to the meeting of the Atlantic Pact Powers, and to the private discussions at Dorking among the leaders of the Labour Party, the Coöperative Union and the Trades Union Congress, which together make up the National Council of Labour.

The need for the talks at Dorking was obvious. First, it was imperative for Labour to hold a post-mortem on the General Election at the highest level. Next, the annual delegate conference of the Labour Party, normally held at this time of year, had been postponed until October, and it would have been impossible to wait another six months for a general discussion of tactics and policy, the more so since the party might be called upon to fight another election at short notice. Last, there has been an increasing demand for a review of the whole position of the Labour Party, under present domestic and international conditions, and the party leadership has had to try to face this controversy.

Naturally, as there is no formal place for such meetings in the constitution of the Labour Party, the 56 men and women who spent the weekend at Dorking met more for an exchange of views than to make hard and fast policy decisions. But the situation inside the party today is such that there was no sharp cleavage of principle. The left wing, which was so vocal in the early days after the 1945 victory, has been silenced: part has been driven out of the party and the House; part is quiet from confusion or for lack of an alternative to present policies; and part has come to terms with the leadership. Foreign policy, which was the main source of criticism in the past, has almost ceased to be an issue. Such differences as there are now hinge on two main problems. First, how to win the next election, and second, what follows from that, how far the Labour Party should call a halt to the march of socialization and concentrate upon a moderate program which might woo back enough electors from the Liberals and Tories to ensure an adequate majority at the next contest.

Much, therefore, depends upon the conclusions one draws from the voting in February. Aneurin Bevan and his supporters argue that it would be foolish to drop from the next platform the planks calling for public ownership of cement, sugar, water and insurance, on the grounds that this retreat would suggest that these proposals had been made flippantly in the first place. They would prefer Labour to go to the country with a coherent and courageous Socialist program: this might recover the initiative which has been frittered away in the last two years, while, if Labour were beaten, the way would be opened for a later return to power on an uncompromising Socialist platform. They insist, moreover, that nationalization should not be justified by claims of greater efficiency in isolated industries but as an indispensable instrument of Socialist planning, without which neither full employment nor social security can be achieved. Last, they believe that the votes which could restore Labour's majority are not to be won from the dissident middle class but are to be picked up by winning over the section of the working class which voted Tory. In this view, they are supported by an elaborate analysis of the election returns now available to the party.

**A second group**—broadly, the old "Keep Left" caucus, of which R.H.S. Crossman is the chief spokesman—also insists that the non-Labour workers' votes are decisive. But it parts company with Bevan on nationalization. A document privately circulated by Crossman before Dorking suggests that, while the steel industry should be taken over as planned, further nationalization of whole industries is irrelevant and unwanted, as well as an electoral liability. Crossman wants publicly-owned pilot plants as competitors to private enterprise in a number of industries, a reorganization of the system of local government to make possible an extension of municipal trading, and an overhaul of the distributive trades. But, above all, he has been calling for a national wages and profits policy, permitting the government "to plan the distribution of the national income. Without this, "in the long run a Socialist full-employment policy is impossible." The

*Norman MacKenzie is a member of the editorial staff of the* New Statesman and Nation *(London). He is the author of* Argentina *and* Outline History of Socialism.

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wage-freeze is thawing out and living costs are rising: only a resolute attempt to revise the present archaic wage system can hold or win back wavering voters in the lower income groups, and permit British Labour "to regain its momentum."

This line of argument is undoubtedly much closer to the mood of the moment and to the thinking of Herbert Morrison, Labour's top strategist, who has consistently urged moderation upon the party and who thinks more in terms of electoral than of social and economic power. And, since the Dorking meeting, I have myself heard a prominent Minister argue that Labour must respect "the denominator of public opinion," and then go on to urge, in the terms of the Manchester *Guardian*, that the party "return to its reformist traditions" with a short-term program designed "to put the country in trim for the economic storms that may come with the ending of Marshall aid."

**This seems** to have been the sense of the gathering at Dorking, although the Labour Party's National Executive has yet to knock that sense into the paragraphs and clauses of an election manifesto. No detailed summary of the talks was published, but it is unlikely that much more will be heard for the present of further nationalization, and even the taking over of the steel industry may be put off. Meanwhile, greater attention will be paid to improving the administration of publicly-owned enterprises and of the National Health Service, both of which have been having teething troubles. The Coöperative Movement, whose enormous financial resources might be affected by any extension of state ownership, will be asked to draft proposals for industrial reorganization along coöperative lines, just as has been done in the case of insurance. Labour will also make greater efforts to deal with the housing problem. The cuts in the annual target, imposed at the time of the sterling devaluation, have now been restored, and various means of stepping up output are being considered—among them the creation of a special Housing Ministry, or at least something more than the present housing division of the Ministry of Health.

All this might make a much more attractive election program, for it goes a long way to meet most of the grievances encountered by Labour candidates in February. Yet there seems to have been least agreement at Dorking on the most pressing of economic issues—wage policy and the cost of living. The trade unions have held back their rank and file for a long time now, but living costs are visibly increasing and it is clear that wage concessions, certainly to the lowest-paid workers, cannot be long postponed. The unions do not want a "national wages policy," for they fear it might dislocate the elaborate (if anachronistic) wage structure painfully built up over the years, and by-pass the normal machinery of collective bargaining. Yet Sir Stafford Cripps is not prepared to abandon wage restraints while the danger of inflation remains and while the nation's economic margin remains so small that widespread wage increases might undo the gains of sterling devaluation in export markets. Even if some increase in the national wages bill is now permitted, the basic problem is not solved: it is only temporarily shelved. And it may prove to be perhaps the biggest of Labour's problems in the period ahead, for it cannot be solved while there is an imminent danger of a Tory victory at the next election. No trade unionist, in such circumstances, will be willing to pull down the defenses against slump conditions.

This raises the question of the timing of the next election. It could come out of the blue, if Labour is defeated in a snap vote in the House of Commons. But if the government is able to survive, the temptation will be to hold on to office, perhaps even until early next year. There is no sign that the result of an early election would be much different from that of last February. But Cripps and the economic planners are optimistic.

**Beyond all these** considerations there looms 1952. Whatever private hopes may be held in Whitehall, there can be no public reliance upon further US aid in two years' time; by then, Britain must seek to put her economic house in sufficient order not merely to take the strain that would follow the termination of ECA, but also to withstand as far as possible any recession in the American economy. Other considerations apart, it is this primary ambition that dictates British policy toward schemes of European "integration." The economic planners believe that Britain can meet the challenge of 1952 only if she retains a substantial degree of control over her domestic economy and of independence from the laissez-faire systems of Europe. Ernest Bevin's reported comment on the Schuman plan is typical, even were it proved apocryphal: "A fine plan —and unemployment in South Wales and Sheffield." Rightly or wrongly, there is a conviction here that the price of the kind of integration now being urged upon Europe would be, for Britain, the break-up of the Welfare State. There is another reason for anxiety about 1952. It is gaining general currency as the date by which Soviet rearmament will be completed.

At this stage, therefore, the present government is looking rather anxiously across the Atlantic. Domestically, it can carry on with the same recipe: it might even win another election. But Washington is the unknown in all its equations.

There is a growing feeling among Labour's rank and file that the cabinet has become fatalistic on foreign affairs. The United Nations seems to be drifting to-

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ward breakdown; little interest is shown in any effort to break the atomic deadlock or to make a success of the Specialized Agencies of the UN; and there are many who would agree with the Manchester *Guardian's* dry inquiry whether Britain is substituting propaganda for policy in relations with the Communist sector of the world and assuming that any settlement short of war must be dictated rather than negotiated. It is a measure of the distance events have moved since 1945 that these doubts are voiced almost in a whisper, and that there is no coherent group in British politics which is identified with them. Yet if the assumptions of foreign and economic policy are in error, then Labour's domestic policy may fail too, and discussions of the future of democratic Socialism would become academic chaff in a whirlwind.

# REMINGTON AND LEE: NEW LOYALTY PURGE

**by Helen Fuller**

AMERICANS who cherish civil liberty have attacked the loyalty program for punishing public officials without due process of law. Now we may do well to hold the line on present loyalty procedures.

William W. Remington, cleared by the federal Loyalty Review Board, has been indicted by a New York grand jury for perjury in denying Communist Party membership. At once demands arise for further tightening of the loyalty program and for passage of the Mundt-Ferguson bill.

Remington and Michael Lee have been fired by Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, who has bypassed and undermined all loyalty procedures and safeguards. Sawyer asks for authority to discharge all "troublesome" employees. If he is upheld, then notice is served on two million public officials that any one of them who incurs the displeasure of a Congressman may be fired from the government under charges that amount to punishment for life.

Speculation on the guilt or innocence of these men is not of importance now. All-important is insistence on respect for recognized procedures in the civil service. That these procedures have been gravely undermined is indicated by the cases of Remington and Lee.

**The long arm** of the China lobby has now fallen in a curious way on an obscure government employee who fought with unusual energy to prevent the domination of China by the Communists. Michael Lee, chief of the Far Eastern Branch, Areas Division, Office of International Trade, US Department of Commerce, has been investigated and interrogated continuously since October, 1948, on suspicion of disloyalty to this country. He has been the subject of many pages of Congressional testimony and debate, has undergone two full-scale Loyalty Board hearings, been officially cleared in the first case, had his loyalty and ability vouched for before the Senate by the Secretary of Commerce, the Assistant Secretary, the Solicitor of his Department, and the head of his Division, and then had that same Secretary, after pressure from one sector of Congress, ask for his resignation on grounds of "administrative inefficiency."

Two unquestioning supporters of the Chiang Kai-shek regime have led the drive to run Michael Lee out of the government: Representative Walter Judd (R, Minn.), the onetime missionary to China, and Senator George Malone (R, Nev.), whose logic is frequently obscure. A reporter for the McCormick papers has egged them on by featuring every remark about Lee either of them has dropped. Having failed to make their smear of Owen Lattimore stick, the China lobby and the McCormick-Hearst press were desperate for another scapegoat through whom to attack the Administration's Far Eastern policy. The fact that Michael Lee was born in Harbin, Manchuria, of Russian-Jewish parents, and bore the name of Ephraim Linove Liberman before he became a naturalized American, made him an ideal target. Due to his "peculiar background," the fact that answers to the charges made against him are contained in government files marked "classified," and that he has been caught in the crossfire of a fight inside his own Department, Lee has had a difficult time defending himself.

In August, 1949, Representative Judd and the McCormick papers charged that a "foreign-born Department of Commerce employee," Michael Lee, was holding up shipments of aviation gasoline to the Chinese Nationalist Air Force, that this man had been denied citizenship on grounds of "not good character," and had falsified his application for employment in the government. About the same time, the Commerce Loyalty Board completed an investigation of "certain statements" about Lee it had been making for almost a year and formally cleared him, saying that "reasonable grounds do not exist to believe that you may be disloyal to the government of the United States." Secretary of Commerce Sawyer personally reviewed all the factors involved in the Lee case at that time and ordered that he be kept on his duties in the Far Eastern Branch. The Secretary had the power then, or at any other time, to transfer or suspend Lee if he thought it wise.

On February 17, 1950, when the Republican clamor for US intervention to defend Formosa was at its height, Senator Malone again raked up the same charges against Lee, this time introducing a resolution for a special

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investigation of his "honesty and loyalty." With the help of Senator John Bricker (R, Ohio), another isolationist turned interventionist, Malone was able to direct the main fire of a special investigation of export controls at the aviation-gas situation for a time. But when three briefs presented to the committee made it clear that Nationalist corruption, not "Reds" among the bureaucrats, was the story behind any delays that had occurred in shipping gas to China, Malone forgot that line.

The facts of the gas matter were these:

In the second quarter of 1948, the Chinese government turned down part of its set quota of gasoline, saying that it did not need and could not pay for it. By the next quarter, the United States had supplied the Chiang government with funds through the China Aid Act, and Michael Lee had been appointed liaison between the Chinese Embassy and the Commerce Department members of a government committee established to set export quotas and licensing policy. The English Sterne Company applied for licenses to fill a large portion of China's third-quarter gas quota, the licenses to be arranged through the China Central Trust Company for a one-percent handling charge. No such gift of thousands of dollars to the China Central Trust was included in bids submitted by other companies to furnish the supplies. Since this percentage would be paid for out of US funds, our Department of State questioned the Sterne proposition and held it up for six weeks.

In addition to opposing such a rake-off for the Chinese bankers, the interdepartmental committee had to consider our own supply problem with the Berlin airlift, and to be sure exactly how much gas and other material the Chinese actually needed, since extra amounts always got into the hands of the Chinese Communists.

Not knowing of the existence of the interdepartmental committee, Chiang's purchasing agents apparently assumed that Lee, the liaison man, was responsible for the delay. Lee never had any power to hold up or issue export licenses or to set up quotas. There is plenty of evidence that he pushed action even where the State Department was hesitant. This son of White Russian capitalists who had never felt any fondness for the Soviets was eager to supply the Nationalists even if it cost extra millions in graft to do so.

**All these facts** were made known to the Senate subcommittee. Nevertheless, on March 6, Lee was notified that the Commerce Loyalty Board was reopening his case. The matter of his being denied citizenship on several applications because he was "not of good moral character and attached to the principles of the Constitution" was explained as standard immigration procedure in cases where, as in Lee's, the petitioner has been divorced on grounds of physical cruelty. Five years after the divorce action against Lee in 1935, when the statute of limitations had run out, the record showed, Lee was duly granted his naturalization papers.

This second set of loyalty hearings has now been finished. The only new "evidence" presented was the fact that the janitor of the Chicago apartment house in which Lee's sister resided in the early thirties read the *Daily Worker*. It is generally expected that the Board will clear Lee again as it did before. Anticipating that they would be foiled by the Loyalty Board, the rabid Malone-Judd faction went to work on the susceptible and ambitious Secretary of Commerce. After only a few kangaroo-court sessions with Malone's committee, Sawyer crumbled. The committee had given him more "new evidence" regarding Lee, the Secretary announced, which made it necessary to oust him from the Department unless he resigned.

**The "new evidence"** supposedly links Lee to the "Amerasia case" via Philip Jaffe. Representative Sam Hobbs (D, Ala.) has revealed a transcript of hearings in that case in which Emanuel Larsen testified that Jaffe told him Lee was one of his "contacts." Larsen may not have known, but Secretary Sawyer certainly did, that the Jaffe matter was raised in Lee's first loyalty hearing a year ago and that Lee produced a witness at that time as to how well he knew Jaffe. He met him twice, both times casually, and on the second meeting they had a public quarrel. The "new evidence" on which Sawyer seeks to fire Lee from his Department was contained in the transcript of Lee's first loyalty hearing which Sawyer himself read and on the basis of which he personally exonerated Lee of any blame at that time.

Presumably, Sawyer decided that battling a fanatical group in Congress was too troublesome to continue. Senator Malone has narrowed his attack on Lee considerably. "I did not say this man was a Communist. I said he was a dangerous security risk, and he is, in the humble opinion of the junior Senator from Nevada," Malone told the Senate on May 24. Apparently, he and Judd are prepared to hound Lee indefinitely, and Secretary Sawyer is not prepared to fight back.

In this case, however, the government's loyalty program has worked well, and it does not appear that Lee can be got rid of through its machinery. The program has proved stronger than the nerve or the courage of President Truman's Secretary of Commerce. Weakly doing the bidding of the Republican isolationists, Sawyer has notified Lee that he is to be fired because he is "lacking in administrative ability." Lee must file his defense to Sawyer's charges of "maladministration" by June 14. Probably he will be dismissed promptly thereafter, perhaps before the second report of the Loyalty Board is ever received. The Department of Commerce regulation regarding suspensions specifies that no em-

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ployee shall be separated "for political reasons," but Secretary Sawyer has clearly put Michael Lee under the political axe.

**Almost two years ago,** Elizabeth T. Bentley, a confessed former courier for the Communist underground, told a Senate committee about a Communist ring which she said had operated inside the government during wartime. She named several members of it, including William W. Remington, a young economist in the Department of Commerce, who, she claimed, had furnished information to her, while he was employed by the War Production Board, that she had forwarded to Moscow. Miss Bentley testified that she had learned from Jacob Golos, her since-deceased Communist lover, that Remington was a party member. She said she and Remington had had clandestine meetings on park benches and in drug stores in Washington at which he had given her "secret information" to transmit, and had paid his party dues to her.

When he was allowed time for rebuttal, Remington did not deny the meetings Miss Bentley reported, but he asserted that her version of them was entirely false. He testified that she had posed as a newspaperwoman, that the material he had given her was public information, and that the money she received from him was intended as a contribution for the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Miss Bentley offered no corroboration for her charges, no supporting witnesses appeared to bear them out, and she later refused to appear before the Federal Loyalty Board for cross-examination, although she did repeat her accusations in an "unprivileged" radio interview.

Remington was suspended from his job on the basis of her unsubstantiated statement. He filed suit for libel against Miss Bentley and the sponsors of her broadcast, and began a seven-months struggle to clear himself under the processes of the government loyalty program. Finally, after lengthy investigation, the President's Loyalty Review Board, headed by the ultra-conservative Republican lawyer, Seth W. Richardson, declared Remington "not guilty," and ordered him reinstated in his $10,000-a-year Commerce position, with back pay.

The Commerce Department returned him to duty but shifted him to a "less sensitive" spot than the one he formerly occupied, where he had passed on export licenses to the iron-curtain countries. His libel suit was settled out of court for a "substantial sum."

That was early this year. In April, a House Un-American Activities subcommittee began secret hearings at which two admitted former Communists, Kenneth McConnell and Howard Allan Bridgman, testified they "knew" Remington as a member of a Communist "cell" at the TVA in Knoxville, Tennessee, where Remington was employed as an office messenger in 1936 and 1937. The committee chairman, Representative John S. Wood of Georgia, requested that the Loyalty Board reopen the Remington case in the light of this "new evidence." Remington, given his chance before the Un-American Activities Committee early in May, denied the "new evidence" completely: "I am not now, or have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party. And when I say never, I mean never, whether at the age of 3, 18, or 32, which I am today."

Remington's attorney, the well-known anti-Communist liberal, Joseph L. Rauh, cited previous testimony regarding "Communism at TVA," taken at the time Gordon Clapp and David E. Lilienthal were up for confirmation, to show that the dates and places cited by the two adverse witnesses were obviously contrary to the facts. Remington gave evidence to show that neither he nor other persons referred to could have been present at meetings his accusers claimed he had attended. "I am prepared to keep on answering [questions]," Remington told the Un-American Activities Committee. "I ask only that some day soon, when at long last I have answered all the questions that could possibly be put to me, my loyalty may again be treated like that of other Americans."

However, Secretary of Commerce Sawyer promptly announced that he would order the Departmental Loyalty Board to reopen Remington's case, and on June 8 he was indicted for perjury by the special New York grand jury investigating Communism. The recent hearings by the Un-American Activities Committee may have been timed to influence its action, and Senator McCarthy has been pressuring the Department of Justice to push harder for an indictment, by accusing Attorney General McGrath of "whitewashing" the government's record on employing Communists.

Early this month, a Senate Commerce subcommittee threatened Secretary Sawyer with a full investigation of his entire department unless he fired the "Reds" he was harboring. On June 6 Sawyer announced that both Remington and Michael Lee would be removed from the Commerce Department. This was no reflection on the loyalty of either, he explained. But if they did not resign quietly, he would oust them on charges of "inefficiency." When Remington again declared his loyalty and refused to quit, he was officially notified that he was to be dropped from the payroll. The grounds given were that he had been absent from his work too much while defending himself before the various loyalty boards, the Un-American Activities Committee, and the grand jury, and that he had also forced his superiors to lose valuable time to testify about him! On June 9, Remington resigned his post in order to give full time to the preparation of his defense. His dismissal would have taken place on June 19.

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# HAROLD L. ICKES: "And a Woman Shall Lead Them"

IF WOMEN had not already made good on their right to vote, the granting of the franchise would have been fully justified when Margaret Chase Smith, Senator from Maine, spoke as she did in the Senate on June 1. She said: "The American people are sick and tired of seeing innocent people smeared and guilty people whitewashed." This was one of the clearest and most direct challenges to a developing but unpleasant national characteristic that has been made. Where men have caviled and equivocated and slandered, Mrs. Smith, with a simplicity that increased her stature, spoke words that caused certain of her irresponsible colleagues to become mutes—at least for the moment.

When this courageous American statesman declared that we were bereft of leadership, both in the executive and in the legislative branch of the government, she spoke truly. She might have added that even a majority of the Supreme Court has been defaulting on its moral leadership. With a nose that it could not afford to allow to err, it too has been following the wrong scent. While executive officers, beset by rumors and suspicions, in the form of hearsay evidence, were struggling against a tidal wave of loyalty orders; while legislators, giving free rein to hysteria and fear, formed judgments on the basis of keyhole peeping and telephone tapping, the Supreme Court has stood by with a brush saturated with whitewash to be applied liberally to public servants who were tearing into tatters the charter of our liberties.

With the three constituent branches of our government vying with one another to discover the most Communists the soonest, it is not surprising that ordinary citizens have become confused. Following leaders who have been leading in every direction, they have wandered far from the principles upon which our American institutions were founded. In a moral climate consisting of equal parts of fear and hysteria, it was time for some high-ranking public official to call for a return to sanity. Perhaps it was better than well that, confronting the leaderless mass, should stand forth a woman rather than a man to point the way back to the homely and decent Americanism which we used to take as much for granted as the air that we breathe.

Senator Smith has indicated the way back to that era when the Republic was the greater and stronger because, confident in its strength and its idealistic purposes, it was unafraid. We shall be grateful to our dying breath if her clear call for the abatement of our panic will persuade the fear-mongers, the hysterics and the smearers to assume again the self-confidence and the poise that used to characterize the American people.

Senator Smith's just denunciation of "irresponsible words of bitterness and selfish political opportunism" was properly directed at Republicans as well as Democrats. Seven Republican associates joined with her in her "Declaration of Conscience," saying, "We are Republicans. But we are Americans first. It is as Americans that we express our concern with the growing confusion that threatens the security and stability of our country. Democrats and Republicans alike have contributed to that confusion."

**Although** Senator McCarthy was not mentioned, either in Senator Smith's speech or in the "Declaration of Conscience," neither would have meaning unless it was associated in the minds of the people with the smearing and demoniacal mendacity in which the junior Senator from Wisconsin has indulged. Senator Smith specifically condemned the making of unsupportable charges on the floor of the Senate and then relying upon Congressional immunity to protect the slanderer from the consequences of his cowardice. Properly also this upright group of Republican Senators "who are Americans first," some of whom are candidates for reëlection in November, charged what is the undoubted fact, that the fomenting of internal strife, the creation of fear and hysteria, directly plays into the hands of Communistic Russia. McCarthy has been doing just that.

It is gratifying that veterans and other groups are beginning to adopt resolutions calling for the impeachment of McCarthy. He should be impeached, and promptly. But, without waiting for the result of necessarily slow and cumbersome impeachment proceedings, the Senate should unseat him as unworthy to associate with patriotic and scrupulous Senators. Senator Alexander Wiley, the Wisconsin colleague of Senator McCarthy, would add distinction to an otherwise drab career in the Senate by introducing a resolution calling for the expulsion of a colleague whose behavior has been so outrageously cheap as to reflect upon all other members of the Senate who have not explicitly dissociated themselves from McCarthyism, as have the signers of the "Declaration of Conscience."

Probably Senator Smith did not offer an opportunity to any of the Democratic Senators to sign her clarion and most timely statement. Would it not add to the effect of the declaration upon public opinion if every Senator, regardless of party, were allowed to affix his signature to it? Such a course would isolate McCarthyism to the small and malignant organism that it is, so far as the United States Senate is concerned. With McCarthyism isolated, the fumigation of the Senate chamber would not be difficult.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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# BOOKS IN REVIEW

## THE ACHIEVEMENT OF F. O. MATTHIESSEN

**by George Mayberry**

THE SUICIDE of F. O. Matthiessen has been so widely commented upon that there should be no need for anyone to say a word more about it. Regrettably, the press fell into the error of putting this tragedy on a political level. What is important is that America has lost a great teacher and a great scholar.

His first work was a study of Elizabethan translation, a valuable contribution to our understanding of the relationship of European culture to England. He followed it with a critical biography of Sarah Orne Jewett that had the simplicity and grace of its subject. Later he wrote a study of T. S. Eliot which provides for the common reader an explanation of the apparatus with which Eliot surrounds his work. His evaluation of "The Wasteland," "The Journey of the Magi" and "Murder in the Cathedral" clarifies that curious collection of knowledge for the uninitiated.

But Matthiessen's achievement consists in his understanding of the relationship between the two major tendencies in American literature. Almost alone, he saw that Hawthorne, Henry James and Eliot were related, if distant cousins, to Mark Twain, Ring Lardner and Ernest Hemingway. Following James's evaluation of Hawthorne in the original American Men of Letters Series, and Eliot's essay on James, Matthiessen defined the subjective tendency of our writing and established its connections with the underlying "brooding" of our supposedly extrovert tradition. His comparison of Thoreau's style with Hemingway's is an insight that gives the critic pride in his craft.

In the most important of his books, *American Renaissance*, Matthiessen developed the fine relationship that connects Thoreau with Hemingway and Hawthorne with Eliot. The book is not only a major contribution to literary criticism; but is important because it emphasizes the interplay of the art, painting, photography and—to use his own words—"expression in the age of Emerson and Whitman." His use of "expression" was deliberate, because to him the literature of the period between 1850 and 1855 could not be separated from the politics, the economics, the arts and crafts of that time. He saw the relationship between Eakins' painting and Whitman's poetry. He understood Emerson's early delight in photography. He realized that a relatively unimportant novelist "who had lived among the cannibals" could be inspired by the reading of Shakespeare to write *Moby Dick*, and that Thoreau's lonely understanding of the world rested in part on his understanding of Greek and Asiatic stoicism. Matthiessen used as the touchstone of his book the passage in "King Lear" which Melville marked:

> Men must endure
> Their going hence even as their coming hither:
> Ripeness is all.

Although he disavowed the biographical approach in his preface, the eventual appeal of *American Renaissance* lies in the fact that the men emerge. The strange custodial relationship between Emerson and Thoreau, Hawthorne's low politics and lofty thinking, Melville's wild South Seas adventures and subsequent dreary years in the Custom House, and Whitman's boisterous youth and sad decline in Camden, New Jersey, all come through. In a footnote he reminds us that Santayana said the American mind is not opposed to tradition, it forgets it; and that Malraux has said "a heritage is not transmitted; it must be conquered."

The achievement of Matthiessen was the conquest and transmission of those great years in our literature. His exploration of the haunted mind of Hawthorne, of Emerson's integrity, of the mental hell in which Melville lived, of Whitman's schizophrenia, of Thoreau's chosen solitude, produced a book unequaled in American critical writing.

Only those who are acquainted with his idols—Louis Sullivan, Coleridge, James and Eliot—can begin to appreciate this book. Only a critic of his capacity could have seen the relationship of the daguerreotype, the clipper ship, the paintings of Mount and Eakins, with the literature that was his primary concern.

Even for so determined a scholar as Matthiessen, it must have been a tiresome task to set these important artists and writers in their milieu. It meant wading through many of the most boring books in the world: Sampson Reed's *Observations on the Growth of the Mind*; George Ripley's *Discourses on the Philosophy of Religion*; and the classic work of that greatest of American bores, Bronson Alcott's *Conversations with Children on the Gospels*.

We can argue over Matthiessen's literary judgments, his opinions of painting, architecture and engineering, but we cannot dispute the fact that the judgments were arrived at after a thorough examination of the sources and an honest evaluation of the materials. Neither Lukacs, Plekhanov, Trotsky nor Parrington has written of the relationship of literature, economics and psychology more thoroughly than Matthiessen did on *The House of the Seven Gables*, Melville's *Redburn* and *Pierre*, the complex and confusing philosophies of Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman.

**His contribution** to an informed understanding of Henry James is immense. In *Henry James: The Later Phase*, he explained why *The Ambassadors*, *The Wings of the Dove* and *The Golden Bowl* are the greatest of James's novels and gave the lie to quips about James I, James II and James, the Old Pretender. These complex, overwrought, largely unread masterpieces Matthiessen saw to be the result of James's patient analysis of the human dilemma written with a sense of ethical values incomprehensible to the world of Arnold Bennett, Wells and Shaw. For those of us who go on living, the values of the latter authors may be more meaningful, but we need always to be reminded that there are other worlds—those of James, of Edith Wharton, of

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Elizabeth Bowen and of T. S. Eliot.

The value of his work, which he imparted to his students, lay in establishing the relationship of literature to society—a task that is slighted by most modern criticism. In all his studies he probed the difficult interplay of ideas and skills. The elaborate care he gave to such disparate writers as Sarah Orne Jewett and James reveals his understanding of art in itself.

Although his devotion to art was austere, beneath his work was the organic principle from Coleridge and Emerson: "He brought the whole soul of man into activity."

## "AND I WILL BE HEARD"

TWO FRIENDS OF MAN: The Story of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips and Their Relationship with Abraham Lincoln, by Ralph Korngold (Little, Brown; $5).

LAST APRIL, eighty-five years after the famous surrender at Appomattox, the McLean house, rebuilt and refurnished, was dedicated as a historic shrine. Only an observer unfamiliar with American mores would wonder why Virginia, the former headquarters of the Confederacy, should want to perpetuate a monument that marks her own defeat and humiliation. Virginia has every reason to be proud of Appomattox Court House: it was there that the real Confederate conquest of the North began. In less than a century after the end of the war she lost, the South has succeeded in changing the name of that war from the Slaveholders' Rebellion to the Civil War, and finally to the War Between the States, thus freeing herself from identification with the true cause of the war—slavery. Her writers have now succeeded in convincing almost everyone that her slaveholding economy was actually the flower of American civilization; her historians have persuaded many Northern scholars to believe that slavery really wasn't so bad, and that the "irrepressible conflict" was not at all necessary. As a result, most Americans now regard Generals Lee and Jackson as national heroes, while the true heroes—the Abolitionists—are not only forgotten but despised as zealots and fanatics.

For fifty years after the end of the Civil War, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips were justly celebrated men; now they are so little thought of that until Ralph Korngold wrote this double biography, neither had been the subject of a full-length work for more than a generation.

They were an intemperate lot, the Garrisonian Abolitionists. Driven by passionate belief in their cause, they used immoderate language, denounced the Constitution of the United States and defied the national government. As early as 1831, Garrison, in his famous statement in the first issue of the *Liberator*, made his position clear when he said: "I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there no cause for severity? I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. . . . I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD."

He was heard, of course. His words mark the real beginning of the conflict that was to be resolved in battle. His newspaper was destined never to have more than 3,000 subscribers, but its influence spread until there were more than a quarter of a million members in the various anti-slavery societies that sprang from Garrison's first organization—the New England Antislavery Society, which was founded in Boston on January 6, 1832, with the "Apostolic number of twelve" members. Yet from that seed came the Republican Party, Abraham Lincoln, civil war—and eventually the freeing of the slaves.

Garrison, who believed in a policy of non-resistance, was nevertheless a constant goad in the side of the slaveholders. And Phillips, who broke with his own aristocratic past to join Garrison in America's first great crusade, was equally pugnacious when it came to fighting for human rights. Both were as near to being wholly good, in fact almost saintly, men as this country is ever likely to see. They were philanthropists in the truest sense; in his prospectus for the *Liberator*, Garrison put forth as his motto, "My country is the world, my countrymen are mankind."

When civil war finally came, Garrison and Phillips were naturally impatient with Lincoln while he painfully groped his way toward emancipation. Phillips denounced him as "the slavehound of Illinois" even before he became President. But Garrison, for once, was somewhat more tolerant; as the war progressed, he became even mellower when he saw that slavery was almost certain to be abolished.

After the war, when slavery was no longer an active issue, Garrison began to withdraw from reform. But Phillips was tireless; he went on to help fight on organized labor's side, to advocate freedom for Ireland, and to continue to defend the Negro during the trying days of Reconstruction.

Korngold traces their two careers in considerable detail. He devotes a great deal of space to the widely differing backgrounds of the two men, and tells how they were first brought together in Wilson's Lane when Garrison was being dragged along by a rope pulled by an infuriated Boston mob. He shows how the "political" anti-slavery men broke away from the Garrisonians in 1840 to found the Liberty Party, which was the forerunner of the party that nominated Lincoln for President twenty years later. And he develops step by step their relationship with Lincoln. It was a remote relationship which would have been acknowledged by neither side, yet there is no doubt that Lincoln was more influenced by the Garrisonians than even he himself knew.

**In our time,** a book like this is both fascinating and depressing to read. It is depressing because it makes the contemporaries of Garrison, Phillips, Lincoln, John Brown, Thoreau, Emerson and Theodore Parker seem to have been cut on a bolder pattern than are their counterparts today. The men who freed America from slavery were willing to speak out fearlessly, to face a hostile mob, to go to jail for their beliefs, to risk everything they owned when they helped a fugitive slave. With such a firm grounding in belief, it is no wonder that the words they wrote still blaze with fire. One is tempted to speculate on what they would think of their country now. At any rate, it is good to read about them and to be reminded that America was once capable of breeding such men. PHILIP VAN DOREN STERN

*Philip Van Doren Stern is author of* The Man Who Killed Lincoln, The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln *and* The Drums of Morning, *a novel of the Abolitionist movement.*

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## THE ARTIST AS PATIENT

THE PSYCHOANALYST AND THE ARTIST, by Daniel E. Schneider (Farrar, Straus; $4).

THE WRITER AND PSYCHOANALYSIS, by Edmund Bergler, M.D. (Doubleday; $3.50).

BEGINNING WITH FREUD, psychoanalysts have often made explorations in the realm of art. Drs. Daniel E. Schneider and Edmund Bergler are two of the latest explorers. Schneider claims that psychoanalysis can assist the artist in two ways. First of all it can help him to save for his work energy which might otherwise be wasted on internal conflict; thus it frees his powers of "identification," communication and love.

The second contribution has to do with the truths which the artist cannot discover for himself, truths "whose transformation will result in beauty," and also truths concerning the process of that transformation. These truths come under the conventional heading of content and form. As for content, psychoanalysis can enlighten the artist about the Oedipus complex (described as a "psychic crucible") and its vicissitudes in character formation and development. The "artistic situation" is said to be a design for catching hidden Oedipal forces.

The essence of the problem of form is for Schneider "the work of transformation." All art form is essentially the form of a dream, and both have the same materials to work with. Art is the creation of a waking dream—a mass dream shared by thousands. And artistic technique is a conscious mastery of the power of the unconscious in its work of dream formation. But there is a difference: art's main purpose is to give pleasure; dreams strive to avoid pain.

Schneider's exposition of Freudian "psychoanalytic aesthetics" is excellent. However, when we realize that, according to Freudian theory, we "regress" in dreams to the infantile, that dreams express evil, primitive and perverse impulses, incestuous desires, wishes to destroy rivals, unrestrained hate, death wishes against parents, relatives and friends, we see that the author has quite a problem on his hands. The transformation which such unconscious material must undergo before we have the work of a Beethoven, a Leonardo, a Shakespeare is indeed remarkable.

There can be no doubt that psychoanalysis has enriched and deepened our understanding of art by its discoveries about the background of conscious experience and by its findings as to the nature and role of certain kinds of symbols. But to equate consciously contrived art forms, however complex, with the form of a dream, which does not have the resources of conscious elaboration, is arbitrary. And in regard to content, aside from the fact that the Oedipus complex and its vicissitudes are themselves a matter of wide controversy


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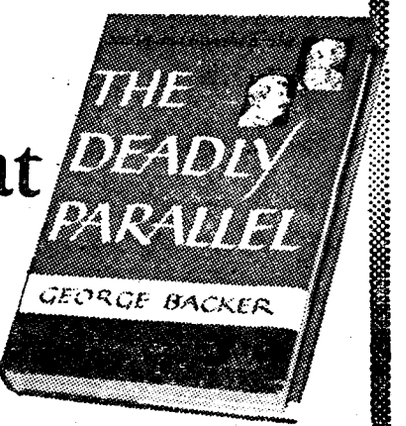


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and disagreement, any theory of art content based on them would confine and constrict artistic expression to one element, however "basic" or dynamic, in human life. Neither ordinary life nor art can be thus pigeonholed. Only because of the assumed requirements of theory and only because some psychoanalysts have such limited notions of artistic form is it possible for them to ignore or slight the multitudinous elements that go into art and the ways in which these elements are organized.

**Edmund Bergler** confines himself to an elucidation of the "unconscious drives, defenses, and counter-defenses" of writers. Having had "thirty-six experiences" with them as patients, he does not hesitate, in spite of disclaimers, to label writers in general as not only neurotic but also "the most antisocial beings conceivable." Indeed he avers that in "twenty years of psychoanalytic practice I have seen a great deal of neurotics, *intra* and *extra muros*. The most depressed, pitiful and sordid lot has been that of writers."

Differing with Schneider, he locates the origin of the motivations of artists earlier than the Oedipus-complex phase. The "artist belongs without exception to the group which, after a few futile Oedipal attempts, is driven back into the oral stage. The Oedipus complex is *not* decisive for the writer." He is a prey of inner conflict originating in the oral stage, as well as of feelings of guilt. He writes solely in an attempt to solve the inner conflict.

Hence he strives not to express unconscious wishes but to express secondary unconscious defenses against these wishes. The writer is a salesman "of sugar-coated alibis." Yet Bergler tells us that you cannot be a writer unless you have inner love for people, or at least belief in the dignity of man "in the moment of artistic creation." But if the artist be the sort of person Bergler describes, love or any conviction of human dignity would be forever foreign to his experience and understanding. Thus Bergler has succeeded in making artistic creation more mysterious than ever before.

PATRICK MULLAHY

*Patrick Mullahy, lecturer in philosophy at Columbia University, is the author of Oedipus—Myth and Complex and the editor of A Study of Interpersonal Relations.*

## THEATRE: London Continued

THOUGH Christopher Fry's "Venus Observed"—about which I wrote in my last article—may be considered both a reflection and a description of modern England seen in an autumnal light, its abstractness makes it seem a costume play outside of time. Most of the good plays I saw in London were revivals, so that my impression of the theatre there was of an agreeable and lively curiosity shop in which the past was made delightfully present.

Farquhar's "The Beaux' Stratagem" is a box-office success because its writing is still crisp, fresh, bold and brisk, and because its performance is engagingly contemporary, the actors' up-to-date Mayfair style seeming in no way foreign to this eighteenth-century comedy. That is particularly true of Kay Hammond, whose very speech defect—a kind of hot-potato lisp accompanied by a self-satisfied gurgle—contributes a sense of voluptuous gayety to the satisfactions of home comfort. Miss Hammond, who reminds one of a softer, less aggressive Lynn Fontanne, has a way of appearing on the stage as if she were merely visiting it with the intention of giving no more than a few friendly and witty bits of advice to liven things up and make everyone feel cosy before she takes her leave. She gives "The Beaux' Stratagem" the right touch of gentle naughtiness.

At Stratford-on-Avon, I saw an impressively handsome, shrewd and smooth production of "Measure for Measure." This play, the theme of which may be the evil effects of absolute power, is commonly held to be one of Shakespeare's failures. On the stage of the Memorial Theatre, I found it one of his most stimulating plays, the only one I have seen for a long time that appeared to have any immediate bite. I do not mean by this that "Hamlet"—which I saw Michael Redgrave play at the Old Vic—or "Macbeth" or "Antony and Cleopatra" haven't any emotional immediacy, but that the manner of their production in most cases makes them seem mere museum pieces—deplorably unstartling.

John Gielgud plays Angelo in "Measure for Measure" with graphic excitement and an almost medieval sense of mystery—but the star of the evening is Peter Brooks. Brooks strikes me as a highly endowed director, to whom the adjective brilliant might be applied not simply as a compliment but as a definition. I say this first, because I also feel that he is still much too interested in his art to be an artist. This seems a characteristic defect of the present English stage. Many gifted actors, and directors particularly, seem to think of parts and plays as opportunities to display their gifts. The display is often captivating, but it is display—which is not the same thing as art, which is expression.

**A new play** I liked was James Bridie's "Mr. Gillie," a naïve, old-fashioned, sensible and sweet portrait of an honest man, who, as a teacher in a small town in Scotland, tries to arouse in his students a sense of life as a high adventure and a devotion to the artist as the bearer of true values and inspiration for that adventure. Bridie, who is an amiable dramatist in the best sense of the word, bids us to respect his humble teacher even though he ends by producing only duds. The teacher's—and Bridie's—real feeling for the humanities, expressed without frills or apology, is heartening as well as touching in this day and age. The play is very well acted and directed by Alastair Sim.

Acting in London is generally good. The older character actors and actresses are excellent. Among the younger people too—Alec Guinness and Alec Clunes—the best work is done in character parts. Paul Scofield, the "juvenile" of "Ring Around the Moon," is a "leading man" whose value and interest lie in his ambiguous and slightly disturbing quality, which properly belong to the character actor rather than to the manly "hero" type.

What all these actors have in common is an unabashed theatricality controlled by the formal requirements of modern realism. Most of them have notably good voices, speak well, move interestingly, and, above all, have a

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sense of themselves as fascinating stage figures, which is something different from simply being socially charming. In his fear of seeming "hammy," the American actor tends to achieve a reality without distinction, just as the American generally tends to be too confined in style, depending far more than is interesting on a negligible "naturalness." The English actor—with Shakespeare always present in his consciousness—seeks to give his performance a palpable point and a quality of art. The latter may deteriorate to artifice, but even that is better than the raw dough of the humdrum documentary.

HAROLD CLURMAN

**New York now has** its first theatre-in-the-round, The Arena, occupying what was formerly a ballroom in the Hotel Edison. This radical innovation, which consists in placing the stage in the position equivalent to that occupied by the ring at a prize fight, has been the subject of considerable experimentation throughout the country. I could not, in one evening, discover that the arrangement offers any real advantage over the proscenium theatre. However, the novelty is ingratiating and entertaining (in the makeshift Edison layout it is more than usually important to get a good, *i.e.*, ringside, seat); furthermore, the performance was pitched at a level of extraordinary vitality, and though I could see no immediate connection between the mechanics of the stage and the excellence of the production, I cannot swear that they are not there. Since the Arena will operate a repertory, we can await more evidence.

George Kelly's "The Show-Off," a veteran theatrical fabrication of the shrewdest workmanship, is the Arena's first offering. It is a work that won't bear the slightest analysis, but while the lights are up it seems almost to play itself. That is perhaps to scant the contributions made by Lee Tracy and Jane Seymour in the leads, but it is fair to say that the parts are ones they could play on roller skates. There are no subtleties; it is all a matter of timing and surface mannerism and an instinct for the perfect theatricality of Kelly's lines. For that reason the selection is good; you can watch this play with half an eye and concentrate on the staging.

The most noticeable change that theatre-in-the-round effects is in the spatial relationship of audience and actors: they now occupy the same environment. The audience is no longer "out there," looking through a transparent wall; the fictional extensions of the stage (to other rooms, upstairs, down cellar, the front hall) pass right through the ranks of spectators. You are not quite *on* the stage, but you are *in* it. It is invigorating to rub elbows with the actors; there is great immediacy to feeling that their world is all around you. But for your eavesdropping role you pay a price. This theatre provides no focus, you can grasp no dramatic groupings, you can follow, but you cannot "take in," what happens. Nuances are possible that the traditional theatre must avoid or submit to conventional exaggeration, but composition, one of the great tools of the stage, has been sacrificed. Everyone must have noticed that his neighbor's domestic quarrels are more artistic than his own. It is the window frame that makes the difference.

The next production announced by Arena is "Julius Caesar." It will be interesting to see what happens to the audience's orientation when the locale of the action shifts ("The Show-Off" is a one-set play), how oratory sounds against no backdrop and how the mob will be handled if the stage remains so small that five actors make it look like an overcrowded life raft. Arena is a challenge.

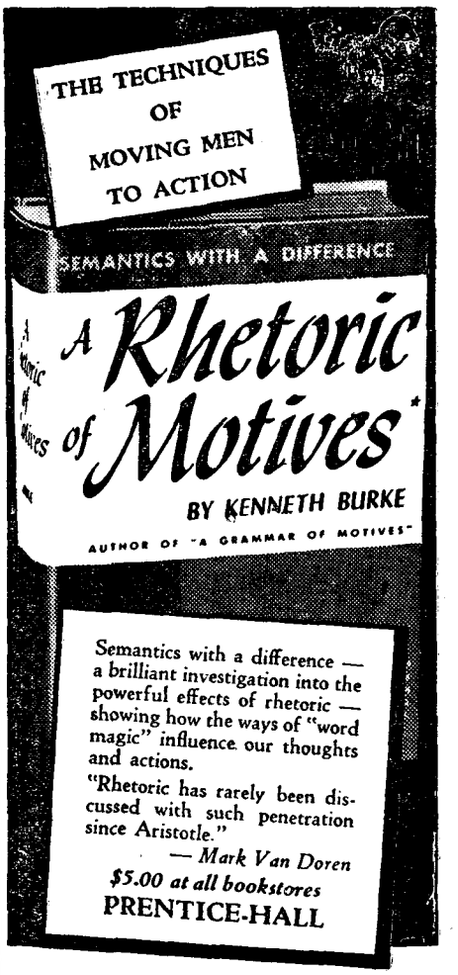
ROBERT HATCH

## ON THE AIR

### Electronic Curtain

THERE IS a sure formula for building an impressive television program. In the heyday of radio, the remote broadcast was the surprise element—you had the customer sitting on the edge of his sofa when an announcer started to coax the cable with "Come in—Nashville." Now names count, not distances. You star Bob Hope, add Frank Sinatra just back from laryngitis and romance in Spain, provide vinegar with Beatrice Lillie, throw in the felicitous Arnold Stang, turn your dancing over to Michael Kidd—and, as the trade has it, "you're in."

NBC-TV came through with that line-up a couple of weeks ago. The


THE TECHNIQUES OF MOVING MEN TO ACTION
SEMANTICS WITH A DIFFERENCE
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show was given a full hour on a Saturday night. Not a single star of the promised galaxy failed to appear. The producer was one of the best for this kind of material; his name is Max Liebman and he will always be remembered for having brought the informality of the Borscht Circuit to television. But no one thought to provide a script.

To keep matters straight, let me observe that I like Bob Hope better on TV than on radio; that Sinatra seems to me a better comedian than singer; that Miss Lillie was misused when she was given the chore of declaiming familiar monologues instead of being teamed with Stang. But most abused of all in TV these days is the writer, who is never—well, hardly ever—around.

During the Hope-TV weekend, NBC's touted Sunday-night dramatic hour, "Philco Playhouse," produced one of the season's rare originals. Joseph Liss had written the play, a biography of Ignaz Semmelweiss. It was a sound job of writing—Liss has a respectful understanding of scientific work—and if the play failed, that was probably because the producing-directing team lacked the author's feeling for the subject. Trying hard for authenticity, the producers thought they matched the writer's simplicity by borrowing genuine hospital equipment for the sets whereon Everett Sloane as Semmelweiss was fighting the world and his profession to prove that simple rules can reduce deaths from childbed fever. All they achieved, however, was physical verisimilitude; the author's perceptions never came through.

**At least** the Playhouse employed a dramatic writer and permitted him to develop the story as his own understanding directed; on the air these days that is an unusual liberty. What's required, almost invariably, is a Mundt-Ferguson type of obedience. Everyone denies that anything like a blacklist exists—despite the fact that there seems to be a direct relationship between failure to land a writing or acting or directing job and being smeared in a little sheet called *Counter-Attack*, edited by a couple of former FBI agents. Now a new wrinkle has been added. As the Radio Writers Guild put the matter, delicately, "at least one of the major networks" insists on a new clause in its writers' contracts. For the information of those few members of the RWG who may not know, that network is CBS—the one so many of us have called the most liberal of them all. Here is the new clause:

> Artist agrees to conduct himself at all times with due regard to public morals and conventions. If Artist at any time shall commit any act or thing which shall be an offense involving moral turpitude under federal, state or local laws, or which might tend to bring Artist into public disrepute, contempt, scandal or ridicule, or which might tend to insult or offend the community or any organized group thereof, or which might tend to reflect unfavorably upon CBS, the sponsors or their advertising agencies or injure the success of the programs, CBS shall have the right to terminate this agreement at any time prior to the expiration of thirty days after the date on which CBS acquires knowledge thereof.

A man who signs that clause is effectively prevented from arguing, publicly or privately, with anyone. He cannot engage in barroom brawls or steal his neighbor's watch; he also cannot express doubts as to the wisdom of the policies laid down by the American Legion, the United Auto Workers, "Happy" Chandler or the anti-vivisectionists. He not only wears the network's collar; he wears its muzzle, too.

The Writers Guild intends to fight this emasculating device, promising at its next meeting "to consider action . . . up to and including strike." Sympathetic as I am with the Guild's plans, I cannot avoid a feeling of frustration. There is always something pathetic about a strike that's called after a lockout has occurred.

**Several important** forum programs have observed birthdays within the last few months. NBC's "University of Chicago Round Table" lighted 20 candles; at CBS, "Invitation to Learning" and "People's Platform" discovered that they had been broadcasting 10 and 12 years respectively. ABC's "Town Meeting of the Air" celebrated completion of 15 years with a 60-minute "I Can Hear It Now" type of program which revived exciting moments from the show's past recordings.

Michael Sklar, who wrote the "Town Meeting" job and selected the historic spots for quotation, did a masterful piece of work; in fact, he made "Town

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Meeting" seem more straightforward than I would grant a program that so often loads its questions and matches opponents chosen for their pugnaciousness and prejudices rather than for their willingness to discuss a subject fairly. "Town Meeting's" procrustean method was illustrated by Sklar's quotation from the first broadcast. The announced objective was to evaluate four competing political ideologies. Raymond Moley, then still a New Dealer, spoke for democracy; Lawrence Dennis defended fascism; Norman Thomas advocated socialism. But neither William Z. Foster nor Earl Browder was called upon to present the aims of Communism. That job was left to the relatively obscure pacifist, A. J. Muste. SAUL CARSON

*(Continued from page 4)*

My article was held for some months in the *New Republic* office before being printed. I cannot be blamed for not using, when I wrote in the summer of 1949, facts published in 1950! Certainly it is true that things have improved somewhat in Czechoslovakia since the catastrophic drought in 1947. Nevertheless, the standard of living in 1948 was far below the general level in Germany since the war, and it is still far below the present level of Western Germany. Before the war, Czechoslovakia's standard of living was higher than Germany's.

While individual incomes were 10 percent higher than before the war, the cost of living was up 100 percent, even before rationing was ended on some items. It went still higher after rationing was partly suspended. There was and is a shortage of textiles, shoes and other forms of merchandise. Prices on the official "free market" are extremely high and few can afford to pay them. It is true that the social services, including the public-health service, are better, but this does not change the economic pattern of the country.

When I left Prague about one year ago, goods with a production value of 100 billion koruny were in storage. A large percentage was considered unsalable and, certainly, too poor in quality to be sent abroad. Perhaps these items are now filling the stores.

Since Czechoslovakia had no foreign credits, her exports had to be larger than her imports to buy anything abroad (see my article in the *Reporter*, August 16, 1949). I don't know how the official data on exports were made up in 1949, but I know how this was done in 1948. In December of that year, quantities of only partly finished articles were shipped to the forwarding agencies and were marked as "having been exported." This was done to achieve the quota set for the plan, and to balance imports with exports. In January, 1949, these articles were returned to the factory to be finished. I wonder whether the same items were included again as exports in the 1949 figures.

Professor Nathan apparently accepts the value of 50 koruny for $1. This fictitious relationship was set up early in 1945 . . . and has nothing to do with the real purchasing power of the currency, internally or externally.

On his second point: I was myself present when an American commercial attaché complained to the Czech Vice Minister of Foreign Trade that he could not find out how the government arrived at its export statistics. He asked to be given the official figures on exports to the US to compare with his own estimates. The Vice Minister refused, well knowing that his own figures were doctored.

The Czech government itself said that 54 percent of the country's exports went to the Russian satellites. It may be that since I wrote my article they have stopped including Yugoslavia.

I have never said that Czech products on the whole are inferior. I know for a fact, however, that because of the expulsion of skilled workers, some on the grounds of nationality, many more for political reasons, there was heavy production of inferior merchandise. . . .

As for the remainder of his letter, I can only say that it sounds like a Russian propaganda document. It would take more space to prove my statements, but they are provable.

Since Professor Nathan attacked me personally, I must give a personal reply, which I would not normally do. A non-Communist, I was tolerated for a time by the Communists because of my special and expert knowledge of the problem of compensating foreign owners for nationalized property. But it soon became clear that my time was running out. I was questioned by the police and fingerprinted for "being in contact with foreign embassies." Moreover, I was sharply attacked in a speech on November 17, 1948, by the General Secretary of the Communist Party. He branded me as one of the bureaucrats who "are still able to make decisions, so that there are many unpleasant results, reversing the correct policy of the government and the party." From the moment when I realized that I could help my countrymen no longer, I made no secret of my desire to leave my homeland. I was sent to Washington because I was indispensable to the negotiations there. I continued my work until my own conscience was satisfied that I had fulfilled all legitimate obligations. I am happy to leave it to your readers to decide which of us, Dr. Nathan or myself, is indulging in provocative propaganda.

*New York City* HUGO SKALA

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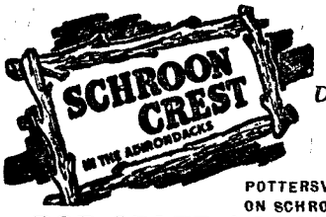


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